1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

142 Among the llaneros the Yaruros have the reputation of being darker in color than any of the other tribes. This may be due to their daily exposure to the sun, for I have noticed that forest peoples tend to be lighter in color than those living in the open country. This observation was also made by the early Spanish missionaries. Gilii wrote:

> The color of the peoples of the Orinoco commonly is dark, but somewhat reddish. It is true that some tribes, for example the Otomachi' and the Guami', incline toward black. But they are of such a color, nevertheless, that there is no one among them who can be said to be similar to the Negroes, whose color they abhor. Generally the tribes close to the Orinoco like the Zaruvi (Jaruvos), and the Quaquari' are brown; even more whitish are the inhabitants of the interior, and of the forests. Whitish are the Maipuri, some Tamanachi, and above all the Macchiritari, and the Oji.[1]

The most striking thing in the appearance of the Yaruros is the skin condition referred to by the Racionales as "pintado," painted. When a Yaruro is first afflicted, some patch of his skin will become dry and almost sooty black in color. This will gradually lose all pigment and become as light as the skin of a white man. Practically every individual of the band I met at El Buron showed this patchy [illegible]. The appearance is analogous to that of being profusely covered with freckles. [146] This condition does not affect the health of the individual in any way. By the Racionales it is attributed to the habit of eating crocodile meat and crocodile eggs. The Yaruros give no explanation for it.

304 [752] They practice no mutilations except that the women drill small holes through the lower lip through which they thrust bone pins. One woman wore 13 such pins. She often used them to prick blisters raised by insect bites.

516 The Yaruros seemed to be ambidextrous. In a group of approximately 150, I counted 6 cases of definite left-handedness, but generally, the left hand is used with a certain amount of dexterity. In addition to using the hands, the toes are used to pick up objects; for instance, if the man wishes to pick up his bow from the ground he will not stoop, but will pick it up with his toes and raise it to the level of his hands.

The posture of the Yaruros is an excellent adaptation to the soft sands on which they are forced to walk whenever they are out of their canoes. Their shoulders are thrown far back with the chest

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[1] Gilii, vol. 2, book 1, p. 84: Il colore degli Orinochesi, comunamente e fosco, ma inclinante alquanto all' rossicio. Vero e, che alcune nazioni, a cagion di esempio, gli Ottomachi, ed i Guani, tirano piutosto al nero. Ma sono di color tale nondimeno, che niuno tra essi vi e, che possa dirsi simile a Negri, il cual colore abborriscono moltissimo. Generalmente le nazioni vicine all 'Orinoco, siccome le suddette, i Zaurui, e i Quaquari, sono piu brune; piu bianchi gli abitanti delle maccbie interne, e de'monti. Bianchicci sono dunque i Mapoi, i Maipuri, alcuni Tamanachi, e sopra tutti i Macchiritari, e gli Oji.

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[29] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree.

262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage

[171] For example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[29] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.